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764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

●768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

769 Many people feared to approach a graveyard, especially at night, for they said they could 753 see people moving around there, although they 775 did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[196] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said 302 N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

[196] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

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765 of a hot coal stick.[127] They also put pine
302 pitch on their cheeks:[128] a little near the nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was put on the face about every two weeks during the year of mourning by those excessively grieved. These indulgences were by women; men did not observe mourning with these symbols.
[534] They evidenced grief by playing the musical
765 bow, says Kroeber.[129] Neither sex had any special mourning garb, nor were clothes torn or bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the time of death and the next annual mourning ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not participate in any ceremonies or festivities. If they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive onlookers.

768 Inheritance of such possessions as were
428 not deposited with the dead was from parent to child: a wife did not inherit her husband's possessions. They were divided equally among his children without regard to age or status.

761 Omens of death.--Several items which may
787 be classed as omens were mentioned in course by
825 the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.

When a dog chokes on something and wheezes, someone in the family, probably the dog's owner, is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sundown, a woman is dying. This omen is still regarded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate rendering of this belief. He said news of a distant death was portended by the barking of a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village, it would be known that someone in another village five or six miles away was very ill. When the fox barked, it was realized that the person was dead or would be dead before morning. Probably the very next day a messenger would come announcing the death, and people would dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes, which are not uncommon in the locality, are shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how they learned the esoteric news which they signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at night, it is telling that someone is dying and even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies, but this omen is not infallible at night, "because at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother, or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows at midnight "someone is being cut up." This omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

[127] Kroeber states that the singeing was controlled "with a natural comb of tumu, which has close-set parallel branches" (Handbook, 519).

[128] Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

[129] Ibid., 542.

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755 about two weeks, then took the child home. Although N.W. wanted to pay Mota $20.00 for his services, he refused to take it because he had failed.

J.R.'s only statement concerning curing was as follows. A doctor sucks out blood, or just goes through the motions without drawing blood. He looks at the sun. He finds out what is in the patient's body, causing the illness, then announces this [publicly ?]. He was paid about $20.00.

754 When sickness resulted in death for several occupants of a house, said N.W., it was be-
768 lieved that a shaman "had put something there to kill them." Thereupon the survivors moved out, and others, even people from other communities, were warned not to enter it. The house was not destroyed, nor did neighbors move away. The informant did not know what was the nature of the destructive force about the house, only that the shaman "would have said some words." Before actually moving, the family would pay the shaman to remove the spell but, if he hated them, he would not do so. If the family themselves failed, no one else would attempt to purify the house. A family would not move, however, until several in it had died under suspicious circumstances; they waited until only one or two were left. The refugees would then live with relatives or friends until they could erect or secure a new house.

754 Once a shaman sickened this entire community [Picayune ?]. He set up a stick on the top of a near-by hill and talked to it. He wanted everyone to be sick, which they were. The stricken people pooled their money and asked him to remove the stick. No one dared approach the stick or even look at it. That shaman received beads, baskets, and rabbitskin blankets: he took away the stick.[143]

756 Payment was made to a doctor at the time he was asked to attend a case: "If you didn't pay, they wouldn't come to make you well." Some doctors, more scrupulous than others, returned all or part of the payment if their efforts failed. But some would keep it -- "just like white doctors do when their patients die." Some shamans deliberately caused sickness, killed others by means of their power; those who did not were "good" doctors.

Curing Shamans

[791] According to N.W. there were but two types of shamans recognized by the Chukchansi, curing shamans and rain shamans. The curing shamans were divided into two classes, those who could suck out blood and the accompanying cause of

[143] The shaman's name was not known. The event occurred when only a few whites were in the neighborhood: the Ecker family was at Coarse Gold, but not the Krohns.

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there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[176]

Mourning.--The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe." Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant]. Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

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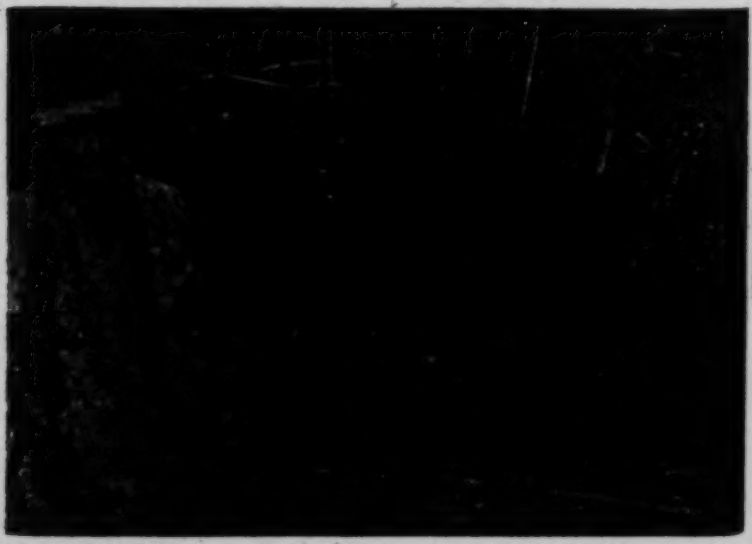
[176] At this point B.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



Web-puk'-in and Ke'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chewmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were used for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred."

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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1917 and that they could have learned to understand each other perfectly in a short time. The greatest divergences in vocabulary were seemingly shown by small groups geographically or otherwise more or less isolated from the others, the speech of the more important tribes through the whole range of territory of the family differing only dialectically. From many tribes vocabularies have never been obtained. For this reason the grouping of the dialects can only be determined approximately. The available evidence on this point is summed up at the end of the paper. For the present it is enough to state that there were two main branches of the family, which include the more divergent dialects peculiar to small groups such as the Paleuyami of Poso Creek. The two branches have been here called the Valley division and the Foot-hill division, from the fact that the former includes [101] nearly all the valley tribes while the latter consists principally of the hill tribes on Tule river, Kaweah river, Kings river, and Dry creek.

The differences between the vocabularies of the many dialects consist both of phonetic variations of words and of radical differences. Prominent among the variations are vocalic mutations. These seem to be similar to a scheme of vowel changes which constitutes one of the most important means in the language of expressing structure. The radical differences in words between dialects that on the whole are closely related are sometimes surprising, occurring frequently in the most common words, such as man, woman, person, house, stone, eat, and sleep. A similar tendency toward as marked a prevalence of radical as of phonetic differences exists in the dialects of other linguistic stocks [768 561] in California. At least one cause of this feature is certainly the universal tabu of the names of the dead; but it is scarcely possible that this cause alone is sufficient to explain the extent of the phenomenon. Among the Yokuts the people speaking one dialect generally understand and often know the radically different words of other dialects though they do not use them.

101 193 We owe the name Yokuts to Stephen Powers. It is the word denoting person or people in the majority of the dialects of this linguistic family, but in the usage of the Indians its application is not confined to individuals of their own linguistic family.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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does not point to their original unity. In most cases, however, the borrowed words constitute only a small portion of the total vocabulary of any family or dialect, and, what is more, they are as often stems denoting special ideas as they are words of more primitive meaning and considerable significance in linguistic comparisons. A second cause that has no doubt been operative in producing the differentiation of dialects, exactly to what degree is hard to determine, is the prevailing taboo of names of the dead. This in some cases probably has led to borrowing; but more frequently to the use of a stem properly belonging to a dialect and cognate in meaning to, but as a radical distinct from, the one which is temporarily or permanently dropped. This process, it will be seen, would explain a great number of diversities in Yokuts. It is however hard to imagine that this cause alone could have been productive even of only a large part of the extensive differentiation occurring. Where a single dialect shows a different radical from the other dialects of the same group, this explanation of the taboo as cause is reasonable enough; but when entire groups of dialects possess different radicals from other groups, it is evident that further factors must be taken into consideration.. And these factors still remain to be discovered.

Numerous instances could be given of the disappearance of stems in one or more of the dialectic groups of Yokuts, and of the appearance in these dialects of other stems, often utterly unchanged from their forms in other groups but with a different meaning.

For instance, the usual Yokuts word for house is t·i, varied occasionally to t·e and tei. In most Northern dialects this stem disappears and is replaced by xo. The usual meaning of xo is to be or live, which it appears to possess in all dialects. In addition it has probably given rise to the continuntive suffix xo found in the Valley, Northern, and Kings River groups. In the Foothill dialects this stem xo acquires the additional meaning of sit, replacing, entirely the Valley stem huloc.

The usual Foot-hill stem for sleep is eñt·im. In Paleuyami this is replaced by k'eneu, which is nothing but the usual Foothill radical k'*ä*nu or k'aniu, meaning to lie. In the Valley dialects sleep is expressed by woi, which is also the term for lie.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
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551 Gawu, pronounced Cow by the whites.

Hawasya.

Watokai, from watak, pine nut. Also the name of a man of the Tachi tribe.

Nahaach, otter.

Pitkachi, the name of a tribe on the San Joaquin River, was the name of an old man, now dead, on Tule River Reservation.

Taucha, dead, is the name of an Indian among the Gashowu, now near the San Joaquin River.

Women:

Wiamcha; second name, Dewat.

Wawachik.

Ilat.

Omom.

Yaudach. This name may be related to yawud, brush, or to the tribal name Yaudanchi.

171 551 775 769 [82] The reason of the strict taboo of the names of the dead has not yet become clear. It is as with most customs: explanations can frequently not be given for them by the people observing them. It is probable that in many cases fear of the dead had some connection with the name-taboo. In some parts of California it is thought that the mention of a dead person, especially if he is recently deceased, is likely to bring about the return of his ghost with evil consequences for those visited. This definite explanation will, however, not hold everywhere. The Yokuts say that they are not influenced by any such belief. The only explanation they that can give for their observance of the custom is that the mention of the name causes the relatives of the dead person great grief. This is a motive which is undoubtedly present in the minds of all the Indians of California, whether or not they are in addition actuated by feelings of fear connected with the possible return of the dead. It was usual everywhere to obliterate in every way the memory of the dead as much as possible, especially by the destruction or removal of objects specifically associated with him. [768] The house in which he lived was in many regions burned, destroyed, or abandoned. It soon becomes very evident to any one dealing with the California Indians that mention of their dead relatives and friends usually causes them acute grief, especially among the older people, and that, when they have reason to believe the mention to be deliberate and not made through ignorance, it is received as a deep affront. [688] Among some tribes the greatest insult one person could inflict upon another was to speak of the latter's dead relatives, especially to mention them by name. In northwestern California such a mention, even if accidental, could only be compensated by a considerable payment.

A. L. Kroeber.